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As to Unity.

The C.E. of the A.S.P. decided to again appoint a delegation to meet the S.L.P. to take up the question of "Unity" at the point where they were broken off. The 27th March was suggested as the date for the meeting by the S.L.P., but the A.S.P. suggested that it be held on April 3rd so as to allow their delegates to get the decision of their Conference on the matter. This was agreed to.

The A.S.P. Conference came to the unanimous decision that Unity was desirable, but at the same time the unity desirable was of a lasting character. To secure unity of this nature it is necessary for both parties to come together on principles, leaving all else to the future arrangement. The A.S.P. did not wish to lay down conditions for unity, and in turn they were not prepared to accept conditions from the S.L.P.

The Conference finally carried the following resolution: unanimously, as instruction to the delegates; three new delegates being appointed by Conference to meet the S.L.P.

"That the S.L.P. and A.S.P. unite on principles, and both the name of paper and party be left entirely to the membership of the united party."

When the A.S.P. delegation informed the S.L.P. of their Conference decision, the S.L.P. delegates declined to go on with the meeting, stating that they knew nothing about the A.S.P. Conference decision, and that they had been brought along there under false pretences. They claimed further that as the A.S.P. Executive informed them that they were prepared to take up negotiations, when they were broken off, they, the S.L.P., should have been informed of the resolution adopted by the A.S.P. Conference. They also claimed that it meant the going over of old ground that had been previously gone over; that the A.S.P. had failed to honor an agreement, and that the Executive or the Conference was responsible for this action.

In reply, Com. Jackson and Everitt pointed out that the A.S.P. Executive had thought it best for their delegates to attend the meeting with instructions from the membership, per Conference, and that their Conference had come to their decision after devoting a considerable amount of time to discussing the question from all viewpoints. They also pointed out that it was not necessary to notify the S.L.P. of their instructions before the meeting, even though their instructions to be carried into effect would mean that a previous decision of a unity conference be rescinded.

The meeting, of course, closed. Then began one of the finest displays of mental hooliganism that one could wish to witness. Judd, of the S.L.P., when giving his reasons for not going on with the meeting, insinuated that there had been dirty work on the part of the A.S.P. When the meeting was over the S.L.P. delegates, along with their followers, remained in the hall, and gave the above-mentioned display. The A.S.P. officials, and particularly the Newtown rank and file were called scabs, frauds, etc. It was one of the most disgusting displays that one could witness; it only need a little obscene language to make one think that he was in a back parlor brawl of a third-rate pub. The S.L.P. did undoubtedly show THEIR spirit of unity.

The chance of getting unity is certainly a long way off. The two parties will unite when the S.L.P. look at the question from the standpoint of principles, and give up the worn-out brothel tactics of abuse, and become rational beings.

EDITOR, "I.S."

ORGANISER.

Applications are called for the position of Organiser of the Adelaide Social Democratic League at a salary of £3/10/- per week. All applicants must state their previous experience, and application must be addressed to G. THOMPSON, Hon. Secretary, No. 4 Room, A.W.U. Building, Flinders St., Adelaide, not later than 8th April, 1918.

The Russian Social Democrats

By Peter Simonoff

I have had an opportunity to say a good deal about the Russian Revolution. But there still remains much to be said.

As I pointed out on a good few occasions, there were, before the present upheaval in Russia, two main Revolutionary Parties, the Social Revolutionists, and the Social Democrats. I pointed out that the Social Revolutionist Party consists of, workers, peasants, men of free professions and even small property owners, and actually a few big property owners.

Anybody claiming to be a Socialist can be in that party. On the other hand the Social Democrats, being the followers of Karl Marx, confined themselves as far as possible to the proletariat or wage-workers.

Another difference between these two Parties is that the Social Revolutionists believe in terrorism, as an answer to the brutal treatment meted out to the Revolutionists by the authorities.

On the other hand the Social Democrats considered terrorism not only useless but even harmful to the Party, and to the Revolution itself.

Again, as the Social Democrats believed with Marx that the Social Revolution would come only through the Proletariat, the same extensive propaganda was carried on amongst the peasants, because it was always realised that were such a large body left to themselves, there was always the great danger that the Capitalist class would use them to the detriment of the wage-workers.

On the contrary, the Social Revolutionists thought that the Revolution in Russia could be accomplished through the peasants than the proletariat, hence the peasants that the proletariat, hence the Social Revolution thought that the workers and peasants could only be used as a fighting force for the abolition of the existing system, and the creation of the new order would be the work of the intellectuals.

They considered the people only as a mob; the physical force necessary to accomplish the Revolution, the constructive work would then be done by them.

The Social Revolutionists considered themselves not only teachers, but leaders and even rulers of the people. But the Social Democrats contended that nobody can emancipate the people but the people themselves. The intellectuals of the Social Democratic Party, considered themselves as only teachers. They tried to organise the workers in such a manner that whenever it was necessary to leave them to themselves they could do so with absolute confidence.

The Congress held by this Party in 1906 there were only 20 wage-workers out of 158 delegates, but at a later Congress held in 1913 the delegates, with great satisfaction could point to the fact that the majority of the local executive committee were working men.

The Social Democrats tried their best to apply the same rule to the peasants but there the Social Revolutionists had a stronger hold, until the Bolsheviks took part in the propaganda; and as at the present time the Bolsheviks are the masters of the situation, we shall leave alone the Social Revolutionists and consider more closely the Social Democrats.

Though Western ideas entered Russia over 100 years ago, though Karl Marx was known through the agency of Ple-

chanoff, it was not until 1883 that the ideas took definite shape in a party called "Liberators of Toil." Built on Marxian lines it still remains as the mother of the Social Democratic Party. It began to function as such, only in the middle of the nineties under the leadership of Plechanoff. Its official Organ being a weekly paper "Tskra" (Spark) published by the central committee in Switzerland under the honorary editorship of Plechanoff, with the most active co-operation of Lenin.

Plechanoff is 60 years old now and he had been in the Revolutionary movement from his school days, but he was more of a theorist and moderate than a Revolutionist. Thus when the Party "Zemla i Volia" (Land and Liberty) adopted terroristic methods Plechanoff left it and entered a new Party called "Cherny Paredel" the main purpose of which was to spread knowledge amongst the people, but this Party about 1881 disappeared altogether.

Plechanoff left Russia and established while abroad a new Party in Russia called "The Liberators of Toil, in 1883, the mother of the present Social Democratic Party. Here again he remained more of a theoretic philosopher than an active revolutionist.

He expected, together with Marx and Engels that when all the people of the world had become wage-workers in the employment of a few great industrial magnates then the proletariat would simply declare their rights to the fruits of their toil and the thing would be done.

This is not exactly so of course. This was the main centre, the main object. By the way, he advocated gradual betterment of the position of the working class as well, but his method did not fit the revolutionary movement in Russia.

Russian people desired more vigorous, more drastic immediate action. From all parts of Russia there were coming letters stating that the workers are tired of that short movement and petty actions. They wanted something big, they were ready to die in the fight for freedom.

Thus when appeared in the more vigorous, more drastic and active, Lenin, he very soon won the main leadership; and in 1903 when the congress of delegates from all the parts of Russia were discussing the means and ways for the further action of the party, Lenin was followed by a great majority and the old leader, Plechanoff, was left in minority.

Hence come Bolsheviks (majority) and Mensheviks (minority). But that did not mean that there appeared two Social Democratic parties. The enemies of the party remained to the last.

The difference remained only in the opinions of the leaders, and they always appealed to the people to decide their actions.

Of course these differences could not be hidden. Therefore, the rank and file very often strongly blamed their leaders for their differences. But the agitation, the organisation, the movement next on work was going on feverishly.

The likeness of that movement during the last two years can be in a degree compared with the movement in Australia, if we would join together.

The first and second referendum campaigns and the N.S.W. strike, only with the difference in the vigorosity of the fight.

In Russia the both hostile sides were merciless, one against the other.

The first serious strikes and demonstrations occurred in Russia in 1898, the

IPSWICH BRANCH.

Our hall occupies quite a conspicuous position in the heart of the city (?), with the red banner floating in the breeze, hailing all and sundry.

On Friday night we had an open-air meeting. The speaker was J. W. Roche, who gave quite an interesting lecture on "Common Ownership" from varying viewpoints. Comrade P. Stalker officiated as chairman.

The only objectionable feature about these open-air meetings is the permit system. This scribe has got to make quite a psychological study of the local traffic inspector. (I hope he doesn't see this). Anyway, we mean to continue, and if local authority blocks us, we will test the sincerity or insincerity of the recently elected Labor (?) Government on freedom of speech. Failing them, we will fight it out. Let those who imagine we live in a land of freedom and democracy get up on a street corner and expatiate any doctrine detrimental to the interests of the ruling class, and he would very soon find himself incarcerated in one of these prison hells by one or several of those human toadies of the master class, and perchance become contaminated with some loathsome disease. How long are we going to stand it?

To grasp this sorry scheme of things entire,
Will we not shatter it to bits—and then,
Re-mould it nearer to the heart's desire.

To hell with the master-class! Long live the International!
Yours for the Revolution,
P. STALKER, Secretary.

yet more serious ones in 1902, and up to the general strike (purely political and revolutionary), in October of 1905.

All industries, everything was stopped. Even domestic servants refused to work.

Post, telegraph, railways, shipping, were stopped. The Government was practically imprisoned in Petrograd, (St. Petersburg). The police were powerless.

The great part of the army and navy, was on the side of the revolution. Meetings and demonstrations were not molested.

It seemed that the people were all-powerful; and yet the revolution failed, entirely. Why?

How painful it was to see that these all-powerful people were beaten back to the autocrats and parasites.

Many revolutionists could not stand it, and committed suicide. It was horrible, because the revolutionists knew perfectly well, from their long experience, that the Tzar's Government would be merciless to the people after such an attempt.

And it was merciless. During the first five days after its return into the power it had slain over 3000 men and women in Moscow, and its district alone, and there were over 10000 mortally wounded. After that the punitive expeditions were sent along all the railways throughout all Russia.

The Governor of State Saratieb Stolipin for his unmatched brutality, became minister of interior, and lately Prime Minister, and his four year's reign was probably the bloodiest time in all the history of Russia. Why then, so utterly failed the revolution.

Because there were agitators, leaders, but there was not adequate organisation. A handful of leaders and agitators, in a district of millions of population could do nothing.

They run from place to place, they worked day and night for weeks, but they were powerless because the people themselves did not know what to do.

Hence came even distrust. The Government seized the opportunity and proclaimed its financial decree of so-called seven freedoms or that notorious Russian or rather Count Witte's constitution.

The revolutionists knew it was a bluff, but whenever and wherever they dared to fight they were howled-down and very often beaten to death.

(To be continued next issue).

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WHEN YOUR SUBSCRIPTION IS DUE.

Every subscriber will be notified by circular
when his subscription runs out. The number
of the last issue to be posted will be indicated.Labor Leaders and the
Russian Revolution.

By BIDDY BELINDA.

The attitude of the Melbourne Trades Hall Council in declining the invitation of the Russian workers to celebrate the anniversary of the triumph of the revolution in Russia, strips from that organization for all time, the sheltering rags of hypocritical pretence of having for its objective the emancipation of the working class of this country.

The Russian Socialists in Australia are for the most part men who, because of their brutal despotism, had been sentenced to long years of imprisonment and only owe their presence among us to dangerous and nerve-racking escapes from Siberia.

Any man or woman might well have regarded the opportunity to stand upon the same platform as these representatives of the Russian Revolution, an honour such as might be experienced but once in a life time.

The knout, the dungeon, the gallows were too often the only reward of these heroic souls, in their struggle for emancipation, yet the extent of the propaganda carried in can be gauged by the fact, that, when the first gong of Liberty sounded, there passed, through the unbarred prison gates, 300,000 triumphant men and women, who had risked health, life, and liberty, that the Sun of Freedom might one day shine in Russia.

How different to the Labor movement in Australia!

Since the Russian revolution represented the initial step towards the first release of humanity from the age long oppression of man by his fellow man, the first successful attempt to establish a Golden Age, after centuries of wrong and suffering, the anniversary assumed an importance, which dwarfed, in comparison, any celebration ever held in Australia.

The world over, that first anniversary night, thousands of hearts lightened with hope, and thousands of eyes turned with heartfelt congratulations to the first people on the earth to achieve the triumph of perfect citizenship, for the disinherited of their land.

Yet the Melbourne Trades Hall Council, the accredited representatives of the still-enslaved workers of this state, refused to attend the celebrations, and by their refusal to attend the celebrations, and by their refusal proclaimed to the world at large that they, at least, failed to see any cause for rejoicing in the fact that a nation of people had freed itself from thralldom.

Yet so terrible were the cruelties inflicted, in Russia, upon the helpless proletariat and those who strove to succour them, that it is inconceivable that any man or body of men, possessing a spark of compassion for human suffering, much less those who propose to represent the toil driven working class of this

country, could refrain from rejoicing that the era of pain and wrong had passed away for at least one race of people.

What other construction can be put upon their attitude, than that they disapproved of the action of the Russian revolutionaries in overthrowing the regime of the Czar, and later rejecting a system of capitalism, a system from which the Trades Hall Council itself purports to be endeavouring to free the workers of Victoria,—in favour of the Industrial Republic of Labor.

Since they cannot countenance the action of the groaning millions of Russia—a people thousands of miles away—finding relief in Socialism, what other conclusion can we arrive at, than that these so-called representatives of labor will oppose, or at least, religiously refrain from lifting a finger to assist, the establishment of such a system here.

Representatives of Labor!

Surely Workers! Ye have placed your trust in faithless hands!

Yourselves, down trodden and overworked, your living strength bartered from hand to hand like so much meat in the market, for what are ye hoping from these fairy princes of your own creation?

Workers! Socialism Means Plenty! Justice! Health and Hope! It means the possession of all you produce, the full product of your labor—and your powers of production are boundless. Freedom from poverty! Freedom from toil! Release from slavery in its cruellest form! Release from anxiety and fear and dread! Socialism means Life! !

Are you still hypnotised by the belief that it is the intention of the Trades Hall Council to strive to obtain these privileges for you?

Let this incident convince you once and for all, that there is nothing to be hoped for from trade union officialdom.

So long as you are content to leave matters of such vital importance as your own emancipation, in the hands of a body as reactionary as the Trades Hall Council has proved itself to be, the extent of your progress will not be beyond the limits of measurement by tape measure, the next forty years.

Every advance you make will be accomplished in spite of and not by the aid of the Trades Hall, for application is the brake on the wheel of working class progress.

The crux of the matter is that it is not the revolution, or the new order itself, which induces such a feeling of nausea in the Trades Hall official, but the turbulent time that may be experienced during the transition from Capitalism to Socialism.

Trade unionism, as it stands, represents to its officialdom the fruitful source of thousands of pounds per year in salaries. How can these martyrs be expected to destroy the goose that lays the golden eggs?

The fact that, in the meantime, the workers soak in the slough of despond, or that this enormous sum is obtained by extracting the sixpences from the lean pay envelopes of harrassed, hard driven workers, counts as nothing with the official when faced with the alternative of going back to tramp the cold, hopeless paths of wage slavery.

Therefore! "As you were!" is the motto of the trade union movement.

The new social system will not lack propagandists once it is safely established. Paens of rejoicing, fountains of acclamation will ascend from the champions of Labor, when once the slain giant of capitalism lies prostrate on the ground, but in the meantime any movement on the rank and file which tends toward revolution may safely expect a very frigid reception from the aristocracy of wage-dom.

Workers! it is futile to look to anyone but yourselves for your emancipation. Your sole concern should be to accomplish a social revolution, and for this, revolutionary industrial organisation is necessary.

The difference between trades unionism and revolutionary industrial unionism is that the former aims at the mere maintenance of the present status of the working class, whereas the object of the latter is the establishment of the Industrial Re-

The Russian Revolution.

A Review and a Retrospect.

Compiled by J. A. D., W. H., J. B. S.

(CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE)

On May 6th the Committee of Workers' and Soldiers' delegates were gravely dissatisfied with the Note addressed to the Allies by the Provisional Government. A monster demonstration was made against Miliukoff (Foreign Minister) and Gutschkoff (War Minister), because of their declaration that Russia must observe the Czar's foreign agreements. But Miliukoff in a dramatic address, gained the confidence of the Committee. On May 8th a Coalition Government was formed of the representatives of the Provisional Government and Soldiers' and Workers' Deputies. The hand of the political opportunist was seen next day, when a manifesto was issued by the Workers' and Soldiers' Committee inviting workers and soldiers to subscribe to the "Liberation Loan" to "give Russia greater independence towards French, British and American capitalists," and, it was argued, "contributing to the financial success of the revolution."

These moves of the political tricksters were exposed by the Bolsheviks, who repudiated the authority of the then leaders of the Council of Workmen and Soldiers who had joined the Government. The Government, in reply, called on the democracy for support, and Kerensky (Minister for Justice) made a fervent appeal to the Socialists to co-operate with the Government. But feeling ran high, and Gutschkoff was forced to resign, and Kerensky took the portfolio as Minister for War. Many exiled revolutionaries were returning, 250 arriving in Petrograd in one day, May 15th. The Bolsheviks demanded the publication and exposure of the secret treaties, but Miliukoff refused to do so, and Skobloff (vice-president of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council) and Kerensky condemned the fraternising of soldiers at the front. The pseudo Socialists under Kerensky, wishing to prosecute the war to a "satisfactory conclusion," now tried hard to convince the proletariat that the character of the war had changed, that it was now one of all the democracies, and that the "new" war was connected with the "old war."

By the end of May Kerensky was in the ascendant in the Workers' and Soldiers' Council, but the Council was getting out of touch with the revolutionary

public of Labor.

While the official of the trades movement sedulously discourage anything in the nature of revolution, we of the Workers' International Industrial Union welcome it, for in our organisation no riches have been provided for a salary absorbing fraternity.

The aim of the Workers' International Industrial Democracy fitly described as the kingdom of heaven on earth.

No compromise, no reform, no misery concealing palliatives shall deter us in our onward march to freedom.

So long as the means of production are in the hands of the Capitalist oligarchy, so long as one man possesses the power to batten upon the brain and brawn of another man, so long as the robbed are helpless in the hands of those who rob them, our efforts for revolution will never cease.

In our Republic, Labor shall have all he produces, and only he who works shall eat. No parasitical hands shall claim the cream of the wealth produced, leaving only the dregs for those who produced the whole.

To achieve our end, organisation is essential. Just as a chrysalis, confined within the restricted exterior of its former state, slowly evolves into a perfect butterfly. Labor carefully organising every shop and every factory into the units of the One Great Union, the Workers' International Industrial Union, shall form the structure of the new society within the framework of the old.

Labor shall have gained its inheritance! Then, up from the dust of earth, sodden with the tears of the millions wronged into the glorious sunshine of Life Humanity shall soar at last!

movement. At this stage the soldiers' delegates, although demanding peace, were not as uncompromising as the Bolsheviks, as the following resolution carried on May 30th, 1917, at the Congress of Soldiers' delegates from the front shows:—

"The army in the trenches, declares that it is indispensable to take every measure to put an end as quickly as possible to the international carnage and conclude peace without annexation or indemnities, on the basis of the right of all nations to dispose of themselves, proclaiming at the same time the watchword, 'whoever wishes for peace must prepare for war!'"

The Congress declared that the army appealed to all to whom free Russia was dear to "rally round the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' delegates and the Provisional Government," and not to permit "adventurers to let the army become a mere machine for foreign fields."

In the secret correspondence published last November by "The Key," it was shown that the ambassadors at Great Britain, Italy and France had called upon M. Kerensky and pressed upon him the urgent necessity of taking measures to make the army capable of fighting. The attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia caused a great impression upon the Government, and M. Terestchenko requested the Russian Ambassador in U.S.A. to intimate that they much appreciated the reserve of the United States Ambassador on that occasion.

Almost of equal interest are the Telegrams and other communications of M. Terestchenko to his various agents. One of these, speaking of the concessions made by the bourgeois, "the 8 classes of the Right," M. Terestchenko remarks that the concessions lose a certain amount of their value owing to the fact that the Moderate Socialist leaders had in great measure lost their control over the masses, who had been carried away by the Extreme Left. M. Terestchenko further expresses the view that the role of the preliminary Parliament would be a great one, that up to a certain moment it would take the place of a Constituent Assembly, and that even though in its composition the Socialists should be in a majority the Moderate parties would succeed in holding their own against the Extreme Left, as the Moderate Socialists would act in accord with the Liberal parties.

It was at this stage that foreign correspondence at Petrograd, who failed to understand the meanings of events, flashed to the world the first alarm news of disorders in Russia. Soldiers in South Russia were seizing estates, and also steamers on the Volga; a great demonstration was held over the extended remains of heroes of the Potemkin mutiny, who were shot in July, 1905. The declarations of the British and French Governments did not satisfy the Russian revolutionary democracy. As one of the Bolsheviks in an interview said, "We don't want a mere political revolution. We want the peasants to get the land, and the workers to get the factories, mines and mills. And for this we work from the bottom up, organising the men in the factories and arming thousands of them with guns. We are already in full control of some munition factories. We know that rifles and munitions are turned out, and where they go. . . . We have put out the owners, and run ourselves under a manager of our own. For the present we are not against the army at the front, but we are against an offensive."

At this juncture it will be clearly seen that the different interests of the dominating capitalist class had for the time drawn together in opposition to the proletarian or industrial interests of the masses. At the beginning of June, Kerensky was appealing to the army at the front, and it was reported that he was well received, and that the offensive was again in full swing.

The Bolsheviks now began to gain more support. The people began to ask "what has the coalition Government done for peace?" Processions of workers and sailors paraded the streets bearing ban-

ners, LONG LIVE THE COMMUNE! DOWN WITH THE GOVERNMENT! and the workers at 120 of the largest munition works refused to supply the army with any more munitions. At Kieff workers armed with machine guns seized the lower town, and peasants were seizing private lands in Bessarabia. Workers' and Soldiers' delegates assumed the administration at Kronstadt, and demanded that the ex-Czar and his family be sent to them for sentence. By June 10th the Workers' and Soldiers' Council, dissatisfied with Kerensky, on account of his appeal to the soldiers to attack the enemy, issued a plain challenge to the professed aims of the allies: "We are ready to support with armed force the masses of England, France and Italy if they compel their rulers to relinquish the policy of conquest, and yet are obliged to defend themselves against Germany. But we shall decidedly protest against a continuance of the war for the sake of the interests of capital under whatsoever national flag it may hide."

The election of a pro-Czar Archbishop at Petrograd showed that the clergy were as reactionary as ever.

By the middle of June the Government discarded persuasion for the iron hand of discipline in order to force the armies to fight; deserting soldiers were punished, and Kerensky refused furlough to several divisions which wished to attend political conferences at Moscow and Odessa. The Bolsheviks gained more and more the confidence of the masses and their ranks were continually swelled by exiles; on 18th of June one boat landed 700 exiled Russian Finns who had returned from America.

Kerensky and Terestchinka denounced the treason of the Bolsheviks who on June 25th occupied General Doumovo's palace in Petrograd, and made it their headquarters. The Bolsheviks declared: **THEY WERE NOT INTERESTED IN THE WAR. THEY HAD IN VIEW A BIGGER WAR AGAINST CAPITALISM. TO THEM A CAPITALIST WAS WORSE THAN A KING. AN INDUSTRIAL MAGNATE OR LEADING BANKER WAS MORE PERILOUS THAN A CZAR OR A KAISER. THE WORKING CLASS HAD ONE THING TO DO—TO PREPARE FOR THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.** The Government issued an ultimatum to the Bolsheviks to evacuate the palace, otherwise the troops would be called out. The Bolsheviks telephoned to the factories in the vicinity, and 3000 workmen, armed with rifles, quickly came to their aid in defying the Government.

The Bolsheviks were carrying out their village campaign; from each factory where their organisation was strong they sent out two speakers to work through all the villages. They were strong enough to make the factory bosses keep on paying wages to these men. Thus the bourgeoisie of the towns put up the money to destroy the bourgeoisie in the country!

The Bolsheviks had an army of propagandists who taught reading and writing in thousands of improvised schools, and instilled the *millions* with a simple, but intelligent, grasp of the international situation.

The capitalistic interests dominated the Provisional Government and ordered Kerensky to issue the threat to organize female labor and lock out the workers if they did not quietly return to work. On Sunday morning, 1st July, a strong body of Cossacks surrounded the Doumovo Palace, and although the Bolsheviks who were on the premises, put up a fight, they were arrested.

The Bolshevik newspaper, "Pravda," said the watchwords of the Bolsheviks were:

"Down with the ten capitalist Ministers!" "Down with all Imperialists who back up a counter revolution!" "Down with all capitalists and organisers of all lock-outs!" "No separate peace with Wilhelm, but down with secret treaties with English and French capitalists!" "Down with any advance!"

The Bolsheviks held a huge demonstration in the Field of Mars, where heroes of the revolution are buried. The Government did not interrupt the demonstration, hoping that the tidings of General Brusiloff's victory would counteract. On July 3rd the representatives of the Congress of Soldiers' and Workmen's delegates elected M. Rozanoff, M. Goldenburg, and M. Smirnov as delegates to the Stockholm Conference. They declared that unless the Socialists of Western Europe were prepared to place Socialism in

the forefront, even of nationality, the Russians must be the bearers of their own separate message to the world. At the July 4th meeting of the Congress 74 delegates voted against approving of the armies' advance. The Socialists held indignation meetings. They adopted the cry, "we asked for food and we received bullets." The Bolsheviks openly condemned the offensive, and declared the army had been misled by the Socialist Ministers, who were playing into the hands of the Allied Imperialists. They had the masses of Petrograd behind them, and determined to force matters to a crisis. The refusal of the Allies to grant passports to delegates to attend the Stockholm Conference was irrefutable proof of the Imperialism of the Allies, said Lenin, also the fact that several of the Socialist papers had been suppressed in the United States proved fine propaganda.

Not only was Petrograd dissatisfied, but it was the same elsewhere in Russia as is seen by the result of the vote of confidence in the Government by the Moscow Council of Soldiers' and Workmen being 239 in favor and 232 against.

On July 17th the Bolsheviks organized an armed demonstration against the Government which they said had not the support of the people. This commenced with a strike at several factories. The Minimalists tried to frustrate revolution; they sent delegates around to the factories and barracks, declaring, "the time has come for all dissension to cease, all must assist the soldiers in the front line. To refrain now is to deliver them to destruction and to betray the Fatherland and the revolution." They attempted the double task of allaying excitement and propping up the Government. But the strike movement extended, the workmen arming themselves and participating with several regiments of soldiers in a procession, in favor of making the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council paramount. It was a common sight to see soldiers selling revolutionary literature. Kerensky sent "loyal" regiments against them and fighting took place. Kerensky had to get away in a train to avoid arrest; he called on the Cossacks for support, and these historical supporters of oppression came to his aid and quelled the uprising. Lenin got away, though many of the leaders were arrested. But this demonstration broke the Government, and it had to be reorganised. Kerensky now succeeding Prince Lvoff as Prime Minister. Kerensky threatened a reign of blood and iron. But it is noticeable that he never carried out his threats, because he knew that the Bolsheviks were essentially representing the platform to which he was pledged.

On July 20th the Bolsheviks seized Nijni-Novgorod, a great commercial city 274 miles east of Moscow, and at the front several detachments refused to obey orders and deserted. The death penalty was re-established in the army. A great revolt was organized in Petrograd, but the Cossacks again succeeded in suppressing the workers after two days of heavy fighting. The army at the front hearing that the hated Cossacks were putting down the Revolution and organizing a counter revolution, could no longer be kept in the trenches. It was estimated that close on two million soldiers deserted at the end of July, seizing baggage trains and ammunition carts, horses, etc. It was against the spirit of the glorious revolution to compel them to remain in the trenches when they felt they were needed at home to safeguard the revolution. The artillery was in the hands of the reactionaries, who were eager to avenge themselves on the Workmen soldiers, who had been taunting and insulting them for the past four months; with the retreat, a whole division of the 11th Army, mostly Petrograd conscripts, was blown to pieces by their own artillery. The infantry then shot down all the gunners, in revenge for having fired on their fellow-workers. The soldiers continued to retire, being actuated by a business-like determination to establish a record in the history of retreats, in spite of the wholesale executions of deserters ordered by General Korniloff.

The Bolsheviks having been suppressed before reinforcements could reach them, a new Government was formed. On July the 22nd the Council of Soldiers' and Workmen's Delegates and Peasants of All Russia voted: "That unlimited powers are accorded the Government for re-establishing the organization and discipline of the army, for a fight to the finish against the enemies of public order, and for the realization of the whole of the Governmental programme just announced."

The Council also issued a proclamation portion of which read:

"Enough of words. The time has come

The Queensland Election

(By F. SUTHERLAND.)

Once again the Labor Party scored heavily in Queensland, and far seeing Laborites prophesied a glorious harvest of remedial legislative measures destined to set Labor firmly on the throne, destroy the machinations of capital, and go a long way, a very long way, towards the emancipation of Labor. New South Wales readers will recognise the symptoms, as they have had large experience of Reform revivals and manias, and now the true value to be placed on such pretensions and vain hopes.

Of course no working man could, if he knew anything at all, think of voting for the Liberal Party who are of course openly favorable to Big Business. Not having any knowledge of Socialism, and consequently ignorant of the incessant class struggle, waged mostly unconsciously, there was nothing left for the average Queensland worker but to return the Labor Party. Both parties pretended to favorably consider, and further interests of all sections of the community, we must work hand in hand to defeat the common foe they said, and there was after all little difference. Strange as it may appear, as the definition of the "common foe", both were agreed that the capitalist, particularly the good honest one provided he could be located, was a desirable. So it boiled down to this—the Labor Party ventured the belief that the profiteer was helping the Hun, and not to be backward in courtesy becoming gentlemen, the gentlemanly Liberal Party retorted, that the Labor Party by smiling genially on Sinn Feinism, Direct Action and other baleful evils was really helping the German in his attack on Truth, Freedom, Justice, Democracy and other virtues; of which the Liberals are personally acquainted from long experience, owing to the fact that they have opposed them all and believed in none of them, and certainly never reduced them to practice.

There was nothing really ingenious nor yet original in the arguments used on either side. Profiteering in so called times of national peril has always been the recognised prerogative of the ruling class, and for the Labor Party to be surprised, it should occur in England and Australia during the greatest of all wars, shows a lamentable ignorance of the calibre of their alleged enemies. It is the function of a robber to rob, and so the exploiter must exploit both in war and in peace. The innocent Laborite mistakes the capitalist for a philanthropist in disguise; he does not even know that patriotism, like his religion, is purely bogus and suited to a system whose real intentions it is not convenient to disclose.

The Liberal, however, must be careful in his pretended zeal for national welfare, least he conveys a different impression than the one intended. When he

to act without hesitation. We have acknowledged the Provisional Government. With the Government lies the salvation of the revolution. We have acknowledged its unlimited authority and its unlimited power. Its commands must be law. All those who disobey the commands of the Provisional Government in battle will be regarded as traitors. Towards traitors and cowards no mercy will be shown."

The result of such compromise with the Provisional Government by the Soldiers' Workers' and Peasants' Council in which the Russian equivalent of our Australian Labor Party at this time dominated, was soon seen. "The time had come to act," they said, yet they did not act. No. Their criminal procrastination led to their doing nothing but giving leave to the "other fellow" to act with "unlimited power." The Cadets (reactionaries) now regained a majority in the Cabinet. Premier Kerensky conferred with representatives of the Moscow Industrial Group (equivalent to the Chamber of Manufacturers), and they participated in the entry into the Cabinet on the understanding that the Cabinet was to be independent of any party or political association. The political opportunists in the Soldiers' and Workmen's Council again urged subscriptions to the "liberty loan," and Kerensky assured Lloyd George that Russia would carry on in close union with the Allies.

To be Continued in Next Issue.

repeats monotonously and without variation, that Socialists, Direct Actionists, Sinn Feiners, Bolsheviks and militant democrats generally are Pro-Germans, he conveys the impression that Germany must be friendly to democracy, seeing that these advanced sections according to him favor Germany.

Of course the Laborite, ignorant of the fact that neither Germany, England, France nor America is in the least favorable to genuine democracy, or the unrestricted rule of the people, which naturally must culminate in Socialism, is highly indignant that the patriotism should be called in question. So to put the matter beyond doubt, he waxes eloquent about the deeds of "our" army, and in England "our" navy; and of course is loosing sleep at nights, thinking how best to help "our boys" when they return. He also sedulously cultivates "national sentiment" and other noxious weeds. The workman and workingwoman listens to the awesome display of language, and thinks there must be something where there is so much sound and fury. Yet it is a false alarm mostly-play acting; the only touch of reality and genuineness in the whole performance being the desire to secure political power and secure access to the treasury.

Political power is indeed real, in fact the great reality to the politician. He can become so to the workman when he once makes up his mind to use it for his own benefit. Just as a straw shows how the wind blows, so the keeping the right of recall in the background, shows the manifest insincerity of the Labor Party. They too like the Liberals want to be rulers, not delegates, autocrats for the space of three years.

So the workman sublimely ignorant of the real meaning of Democracy, sets up his parliamentary joss, and then falls down and worships him. Once elected—plain Bill Jones becomes transformed into William Jones Esquire, the Lord's anointed removed far from vulgar scenes of manual toil, and in the minds of his mates utterly beyond criticism, however moderate in tone.

It is thus the workman spoils his representation, and his childlike trust in his alleged honesty and integrity, and his inability to recall him when he proves faithless makes it worth while, the capitalist bribing him to vote against the views and wishes of his constituency.

Just as pathetic and indeed disastrous to himself and his class is the belief of the workman in the virtues of the Labor programme. Despite the fact that to-day unemployment is ripe all over Australia, and Big Business coming wealth out of the war and the necessities of the people, whilst many people are in dire need still we hear of triumph of Labor.

So devoid of originality is this alleged Labor Party, that they even could not see far enough to introduce legislation to prevent disfranchisement of their own class; a comparatively simple matter. Why should not a vote like a union ticket be good in any constituency at any time, provided the elector had his electoral card with him.

The fact is the average Labor member has not the interest of the working class at heart, he is too busy trying to placate the middle class or Little Business section of the Labor Party, who only tolerate and support Labor in the hope, and a vain hope, too, of smashing the Trust. Hence his large talk of the immense resources of "our" country, and the need for moderation on the part of the working class.

If everyone of their suggested reforms was translated into the laws of the land the Australian would be as much exploited as he is to-day.

On the other hand if the revolutionary proposition was put fair and square before the electors, and the working class shown the utter hopelessness and futility of reforms to permanently better their position, then if they responded to an appeal which would really do them good, the people would find the capitalist class themselves proposing and enacting the very measures they to-day deem ruin-

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The Queensland Election. Continued from Page 3.

ous in their efforts to stem the tide of revolution. But just as the clergyman will continue preaching fables and myths as long as a comfortable living can be earned by such intellectual dishonesty, so will the politician preach reforms until it becomes fashionable to advocate revolution, then he too will see the futility of reforms.

It is therefore useless and indeed a waste of time appealing to those who make a comfortable living by means of dishonest methods and unsound doctrines. Now as at all times real progress depends on the progress in intelligence of the vast mass of people. When the people believe in Revolution, they will demand it, and when they demand it in no uncertain voice they will get it, with all that implies. Workingmen and women must become Socialists—that is the one thing needful.

Melbourne Notes.

On Sunday March 24, George Dale, the well known militant of Broken Hill, gave a very lucid and interesting lecture on the principal points of the "Industrial History of Broken Hill." George has published a book with this title, which I am sure is worth the perusal of every worker in Australia who is interested in the class war.

The lecturer at question time, stated that he did not desire to answer any question of an academic, economic or philosophical character, nevertheless he showed a working grip of Marxian economics in answering several questions; one being "which is the best for workers to agitate for higher wages or shorter hours."

The lecturer said go for both, but especially for the reduction of hours; and seeing that the cost of living is rising all the time and actual wages are being reduced, he emphasised the point that unless the workers reduced the amount of surplus value, no rise in wages was to their benefit, i.e., if their wages rose from £1 to 22/-, but the amount of surplus value robbed from them by their employer, rose in greater proportion say from 22/- to 26/-, as a result of increased speeding up and efficiency, then they were worse off in proportion than before.

The only effective remedy was to so organise as to take the full product of their toil and wipe out surplus value altogether. But they must fight the boss every time they get a chance to gain any improvement in their conditions. George Dale's book is now on sale at 2/6.

On Monday March 25, the first anniversary of the Russian Revolution was celebrated at the Guild Hall.

It was a wet night, and the fact that hand bills had been distributed advertising the meeting to be held at the Masonic Hall, which is Freemason's Lodge, late in the week refused to allow the use of for what they termed "a disloyal meeting" and cancelled the hire agreement, all militated against a good attendance.

But taking all things into consideration a good attendance was there; the body of the hall being filled, and a sprinkling in the gallery.

Comrade Simonoff, the Bolshevik Consul General for Australia gave a brief review of historical movement for freedom in Russia, and again stated his point that the only way for the workers to give the urgently required help to their Russian comrades, was for the workers in Australia to emancipate themselves.

Comrade J. B. Scott represented the A.S.P., and in a telling address, urged the workers to unite into One Great International Industrial Union, with a revolutionary objective viz., a complete change of the ownership of the means of production and distribution. Com. Scott, emphasised the fundamental difference between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks; the Bolshevik tactics of going uncompromisingly straight for revolution had won the day, whereas the Menshevik tactics of reform would never have carried the revolution to the logical conclusion.

He drew the distinction here in Australia between the Political Socialists who were advocating reform—a slow gradual change—and like the Mensheviks in favor of the Political State as a means of instituting reforms; and the Indus-

The Australian Socialist Party.

PRINCIPLES AND POLICY.

Objective.

The Social ownership and control of the means of production and distribution.

Statement of Principles.

The present form of Society rests on private ownership of the land and the machinery (tools) of production.

The owners of most of the land and machinery of production constitute what is economically known as the capitalist class. Hence the use of the term, "The capitalist form of society."

This form of ownership divides society in all countries into two distinct and opposing classes—the capitalist class and the working class.

The working class produces all the wealth of society, whilst it only receives sufficient to enable it to carry on production (i.e. a living wage). The rest of the wealth is appropriated by the capitalist class, and is known as surplus value.

Thus a conflict of interests is set up over the division of this wealth, each class striving to obtain possession of a greater portion. This conflict of interests begets a never-ceasing struggle known as the class war, some section or other of the working class being ever engaged in actual conflict.

Political Action and the State.

The struggle forces the workers to organise on the industrial field. But this organisation inevitably produces political consequences.

The State, that combination of legal, judicial and coercive forces, which is directed by parliament (the executive of the capitalist system), is the weapon with which the capitalist class defeats the workers on the industrial field. Finding themselves in conflict with the State, the workers are forced to find political expression for their economic organisations.

Inasmuch as industrial action produces its political reflex, the A.S.P. recognises the use of revolutionary political action on the above basis, as distinct from the palliative-mongering parliamentarism of non-revolutionary parties, to be essential to the complete overthrow of the capitalist system.

Political action then is only of value to the working-class, so far as it truly reflects its organised industrial power.

As to Unionism.

The A.S.P. aims and declares for Industrial Unionism as against craft or sectional unionism, for whereas the specialisation of the processes of production, the invention of machinery, and the concentration of ownership into fewer and fewer hands, makes craft unionism unable to cope with this economic development, and ever growing power of the em- stage in the evolution of capitalist production, i.e., the organised labor expressions of lower forms of tools, the A.S.P. therefore declares that to-day this organisation has outlived its usefulness, and has created crafts and sections amongst the working class in the same industry, and this contradiction in industrial development allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set in the same industry, and industry against industry, thereby defeating one another when waging war against the encroachments of the capitalist class, with their superior and higher developed organisations. And in view of this economic development the working class must organise in such a manner as will correspond to the development of the tools of production.

The A.S.P. therefore affirms that industrial unionism in contradistinction to craft unionism is that form of organisation which is based upon the recognition of the class struggle, and through which all its members in one industry or in all industries, if necessary, can

Industrial Socialists who like the Bolsheviks advocated revolutionary action—a complete change from the Political State, which must go and be superseded by the Industrial Democracy.

The Bolsheviks have inaugurated the nearest approach to an Industrial Republic possible under the circumstances.

Comrade Scott said that you can elect a parliament house full of Socialists, but unless you have the organised industrial movement to back up such action, then the victory would turn out a defeat.

No Industrial Democracy is possible unless you have an Industrial Union based on clear class-conscious lines.

The Political State cannot be used as the machinery of Government in a Socialist Commonwealth; the workers can only take over the means of production and distribution through an Industrial Organisation composed of the actual workers in industry.

The Political State is useless for this purpose, hence the necessity for the worker to understand what Industrial Unionism really means, and its fundamental difference to the One Big Union schemes based on Federation of Craft Unions.

H. Scott-Bennet representing the Victorian Socialist Party was on the platform through the evening, and was to have spoken after Com. J. B. Scott, but he did not speak.

Press Correspondent.

as a unit on the industrial field.

The A.S.P. therefore endorses the 1916 preamble of the W.I.L.U.

As to Historical Materialism.

The A.S.P. pledges itself to the materialistic interpretation of history, which asserts that the transition from one system of society to another, as in the past, from primitive communism to chattel slavery, from chattel slavery to feudalism, and from feudalism to the present Capitalist State, has been the result of new and improved methods of production.

All the institutions of any period of society are moulded by the prevailing economic conditions. The religious, juridical, educational and social institutions, therefore reflect the interests of the dominant class. Thus these institutions and their ideology bolster up the capitalist system, thus forcing the A.S.P. to attack them.

As to Militarism.

The A.S.P. declares itself uncompromisingly hostile to all forms of armaments and militarism, recognising that the armed forces will be used to buttress up capitalism, and to hold down the workers. The A.S.P. further recognises that the energies of the working class can be better utilised in building up their industrial and political organisations, which shall finally render war impossible, as such organisations by international affiliation and alliances between the working classes of all nations will be the chief guarantee of the peace of the world.

YOU WANT SOCIALISM.

Because it will make the interest of each the interest of all.

Because it will provide conditions under which each may have the best of food.

Because it will enable each to have the

Because it will provide amusement for all.

Because the children will have the opportunity of developing all their faculties, regardless of wealth.

Because humanity will cease the struggle against each other for wealth, but will wage their struggle against the force of nature for wealth.

Because it will ensure each the best of dwellings.

Because it will guarantee to all the best of instruction.

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Will Celebrate May Day with a SOCIAL & DANCE

In The Southern Cross Hall

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TO UNATTACHED SUPPORTERS

Whoever you are, if you believe in Scientific Socialism, you must recognise the need for organisation. Why not set a good example to the workers whom you come in contact with, and whom we know you try to educate, by joining up with the A.S.P.

If there is no BRANCH in your locality, you can become a MEMBER AT LARGE, and thus become a REAL LIVE WIRE.

For further information, drop a line to the General Secretary, A.S.P., 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney.

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Any branch desiring matter published under the above heading, should write clearly what is needed, and forward same to this office.

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Library for Members.
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Business meeting every alternate Thursday evening.
Dance every Friday evening.

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